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241 In
433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo
[464- backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave
567] labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
[177] Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
567 shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.
[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegna-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

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249 cultivation which is monocultural and highly standardized. As has been indicated, small scale sugar cane cultivation--in house gardens--is omnipresent in the Recôncavo. The area in such garden cane, however, can scarcely be as much as one per cent of the total cropland.

249 471 Within the Central Recôncavo sugar cane is grown principally to supply a relatively small number of sugar usinas. The usinas either own and operate or rent and operate the cane plantations or have a stable relationship with those plantations from which they buy cane. Under these circumstances it is both necessary and relatively easy to standardize the methods of production and cultivation. The industrial aspects of sugar production will be discussed in the section on processing.

249 The general system of sugar cane cultivation involves a five-year sequence:

[409] [492] (1) The land is broken with a large ox-drawn, wooden plow. The same plow opens parallel furrows, two to three feet apart, into which are laid pieces of cane stalk, cut from specially grown seed cane. The seed cane is then covered with hoes and packed with bare feet. Planting usually takes place during the last of the wet season--August and early September--to a lesser extent during the cane harvest--mid-September to mid-March--and at the end of the harvest in the autumn, if possible. Usually, however, the ground is too wet for planting during the months of May to August.

[412] (2) The cane is weeded frequently with a knife or a hoe. After a year of growth it is cut and carted away to the railroad. The leaves and upper stalk are left on the field and after drying are burned, except for some small part which is used as fodder.

(3) When the roots sprout again, the field is weeded and kept clean as the second-year cane develops; and after a year, the cane is harvested again. Generally this re-growth is repeated three times, so that there are four harvests for each planting.

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231 [234] are found in all parts of the Recôncavo, although dairying is not a highly developed enterprise. It should be noted, however, that both oxen and milk cows usually end their careers in the slaughter house.

No município in the Recôncavo had less than 2,500 cattle in 1948, but there were only two important concentrations (Map 78). The largest of these was in Feira de Santana, chiefly around the cidade. Forty per cent of all cattle in the Recôncavo were held in this area. The second, and much smaller, concentration was in the sugar cane region, with about 8 per cent of the cattle of the Recôncavo. In order effectively to differentiate these concentrations and between them and the basal distribution of the rest of the Recôncavo, it is necessary to discuss briefly the specialized forms of livestock enterprise.

[492] (1) In the sugar zone a very large percentage (probably 70 to 90 per cent) of the cattle are oxen used as labor in the cane fields (Map 79). Since these animals are grass-fed exclusively--no grain is used--and since there are many disease problems, it is necessary to maintain a large local reserve so that day to day rotation is possible. In addition, the larger enterprises maintain ranches on which oxen and other labor animals, purchased in the Sertão or at Feira de Santana, are conditioned and at which ailing or weak animals recuperate. When they are no longer useful as draft animals, the oxen are butchered and sold to the local agricultural laborers. Only small quantities of milk 234 443 are produced in this zone.

(2) Salvador, and to a lesser extent Feira de Santana, have milk sheds of importance (Map 80). In addition, a very small milk shed surrounds each cidade, although Cachoeira-São Félix is not well endowed in this respect.[4] The marketing of milk is local--the only exception discovered was the sale in Salvador of milk from the município of Carassari. The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively

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231 Summary--Livestock Produced for Animal Products. Except for the oxen, all the animals discussed above are raised for meat or for other animal products rather than for use as beasts of burden. The distribution of these animals, without regard to kind, is summarized on the accompanying map of non-work animals (Map 84).

Feira de Santana has the outstanding concentration of these non-work animals in the Recôncavo and, undoubtedly, in Bahia. To a considerable degree this concentration signalizes the importance of the sertão as a producer of livestock and of the Recôncavo as a consumer, since many of the animals around Feira de Santana are transients moving from the former to the latter. The principal market served by [443] Feira de Santana is the city of Salvador, but the rural areas of all the Recôncavo north of the Bay and the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu also secure much of their livestock through the campo de gado at "Feira."

The only other concentration of livestock raised for animal products is in the Southwestern Recôncavo. Most of these animals are [433] used to feed the large local population within the sub-region, which seems to be relatively self-sufficient as far as livestock production is concerned.

231 Asses and Mules. Asses and mules combined are the most numerous • 492 and widely distributed work animals in the Recôncavo. There were in 1948 about 115,000 of these two animals in the region (Map 85). Over one-half were found in Feira de Santana, where they are raised locally in large numbers and where animals brought from the Sertão are conditioned for sale. The asses and mules of the Recôncavo are both very small animals and are generally used as burden carriers, although the larger mules--still very small by United States standards--are used as riding animals.

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231 492 Asses and mules were the second most numerous animals in an area from São Gonçalo and Feira de Santana to Camassari--a zone which roughly corresponds to the northern part of the tobacco-manioc region. In this part of the crop region cultivation is more scattered and road transportation less well developed than in the Southwestern Recôncavo, and presumably the animals are needed to pack the tobacco crop to the markets.[6]

Work Animals. The work animals of the Recôncavo include oxen, horses, asses, and mules. As the accompanying map demonstrates (Map 86), the chief concentration of all work animals, without regard to type, was around Feira de Santana, the supply center for the region. Many of these animals were young or were being conditioned for market. On the other hand, most of the work animals of the smaller concentration in the sugar cane region were actually in use.

According to the official data, the total number of work animals in the Recôncavo increased from 85,000 to 215,000 between 1940 and 1948. Almost certainly there has been a strong increase, but such a tremendous rise in work animal population seems excessive; probably the 1940 total is too low, and perhaps the 1948 figure is excessive, though in view of the number of animals which are evident in the Recôncavo, not very much so.

231 Conclusion. Although the Recôncavo produces a moderate number of livestock of all types--except horses, asses, and mules--it has a great and continuing deficit. The livestock deficiencies of the region are supplied by the sertão in a movement of animals which had its inception in the initial century of colonization. Associated with the exchange 231 438 of animals from the sertão for products from the littoral is one of the historic institutions of the Northeast--the campo de gado of

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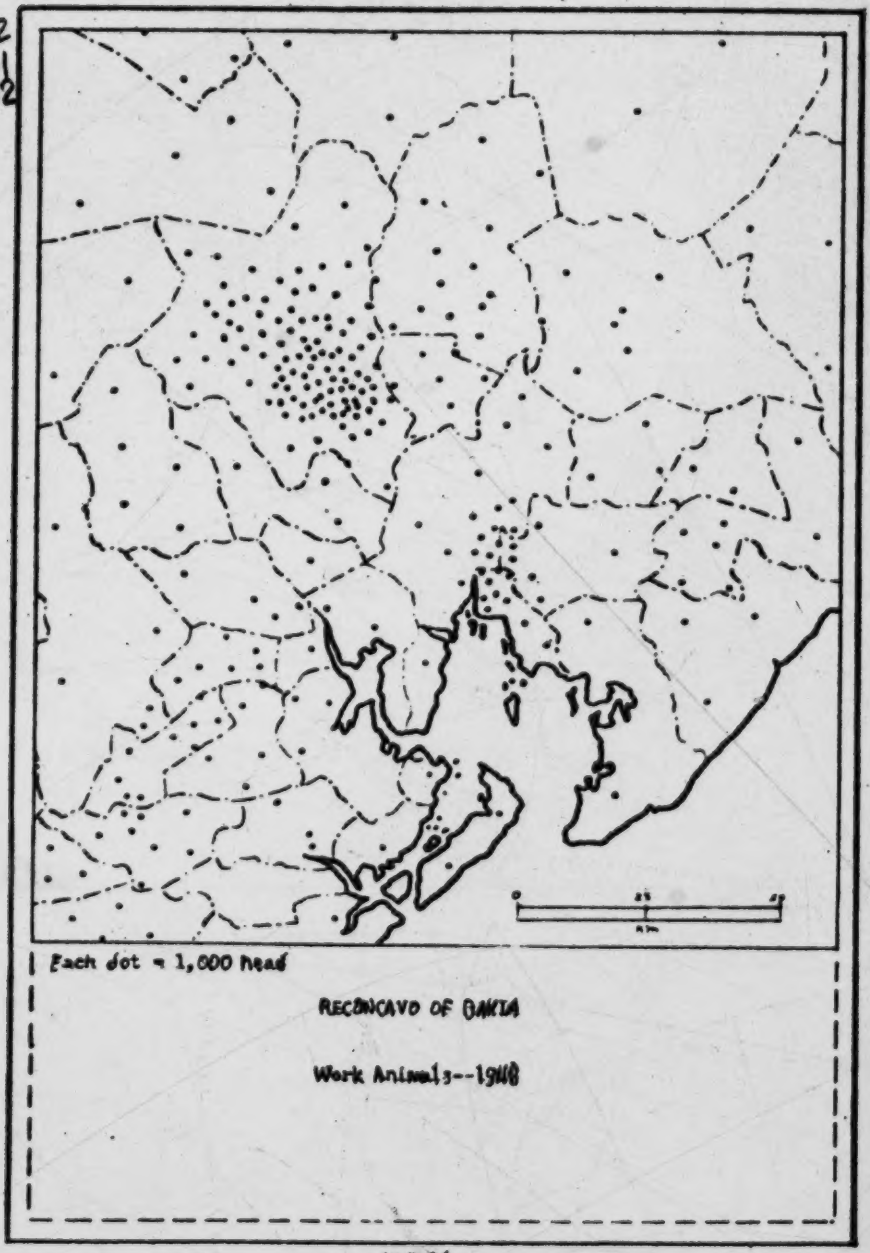

MAP 86

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

443 the journey to the market. The produce are carried by the individual
[492] or on the back of an ass or mule. By early morning all the roads are thronged with the people of the countryside and their animals moving toward the center. It is a gala social occasion in which the warm, lighthearted personal relationships of the lower class Baianos are evident. Upon arrival at the market, a cloth is spread on the floor or ground in a customary spot, and the offerings of the people are displayed. Very soon the townspeople--chiefly housewives and servants--enter the market area to inspect the offerings and haggle over their
[442] purchases of food and other agricultural products. Also moving through the market are the wholesale buyers, both local and itinerant. As their agricultural products are sold, the country people, too, begin to circulate through the area to purchase goods and talk with their friends and relatives. The market is a seething array of animals and people weaving their way between the displays of produce. In the smaller centers, most of the local products are sold by mid-day, and the rural people begin their journey home, a trip of as much as twenty kilometers.

443 The products which are generally sold in the markets of the
438 cidades and villas are shown below:

Local Agricultural Products - Unprocessed

Staples:
Corn, black beans, sweet potatoes, aipim (a sweet manioc used like white potatoes)

Meat:
Fresh beef and pork

Vegetables:
Such as onions, string beans, tomatoes, and local specialties

Fruits:
Especially oranges, bananas (including plantains), papayas, and mangoes

Coffee

Coconuts

Live Animals:
Especially chickens and pigs, but also draft animals.

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249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
438
452 throughout the season.
455

The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276
438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433
439 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492
469 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end

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482 their journeys thus, and many agricultural products are transported in
492 no other fashion from the site of cultivation to the ultimate consumer.
489 [491] In each of the municípios of the Recôncavo, as in almost all of Brazil, there are extensive areas which are neither on nor near roads. In these areas, but also along the highways and in the cities, men and beasts of burden transport the products of the agricultural economy.
489 Long distance transportation, formerly dependent on animals, has been
490 changed in the last half century by the introduction of railroads and
493 more recently, automotive vehicles. In a similar fashion, both primi-
177 178 505 tive and relatively modern transport are used on the waters of the Bâia de Todos os Santos and of the various estuaries. Most of the agricultural products which cross the Bay are carried on open-decked sailing vessels and canoes, but there are also a number of motor vessels and motorboats which provide relatively effective transport from Salvador to all the cidades on or near tidewater.

492 In the tobacco-manioc region, and in rural Brazil generally, the donkey or the mule is the characteristic beast of burden. On the backs of these animals the bales of tobacco, the sacks of manioc and farinha de mandioca, and the baskets of corn and vegetables are carried to the market. The equipage of the donkey is simple--a halter and a rough
492 crosstree pack saddle with a thick pad of vegetable fiber. In the
493 sugar cane region the donkey is supplemented and, in most areas, almost
[171] supplanted by the ox cart. The ox cart of Bahia, essentially like the carts used in other Brazilian sugar areas, is built of heavy wood, with a thick wooden bed and tongue, wooden axle, and solid wooden wheels about five-feet in diameter. This high, massive contraption has no bearings, and in dry weather especially it is frequently necessary to repair the wheels and axles. The ox cart is an admirable device for the Cretaceous lowland, for with its high wheels it can carry as much

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as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depending upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are

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249 252 276 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed. Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco [277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 489 471 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 492 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their

249 499 505 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is transported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] [493] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

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[23]
[233]
of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found [233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [499] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [439] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [565] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [471] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [472] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force [464] of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes [178] from the interior sertão of Bahia.

health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of manioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city.

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them.

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration.

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick-lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especially during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distributed among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the plantations. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are visited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Almost every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization.

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá.

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house.

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house.

A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of the plantation, but who are not residents, are the caatinguejros (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which borders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north). Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest season, a time when not only the plantations but the factories as well need more men than the resident population provides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants from the north. A system has grown up whereby each plantation and factory has a man who can contact these migrant laborers. This man is called the empreiteiro, a contractor who has a system of contacts in the north usually through family and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on the plantation payroll. It is the empreiteiro who contracts with the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which must be done constantly but which at harvest time the resident workers cannot do. On the list of jobs and wages, above, there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30 cruzeiros for weeding 249 braças. This man is the empreiteiro, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] [493] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor, thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

*249 43 178 [426] Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts. Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for planting. Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

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[The Usina]

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463 seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any oth-
er worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops,
466 and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and
horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the cor-
• [492] poration, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is
[465] high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for
each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional
overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a
* 249 cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu
Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twen-
463 ty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good
159 deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned
than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his
[427] sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on
one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, rent-
ing some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants
sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory
for the use of the land.

* 249 The usineiros have the same complaints against their gen-
eral overseers that private plantation owners have against
466 theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such
an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is
allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted,
ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mut-
ters to himself.

* 249 So far the rural properties of the factories have led the pri-
[184] vate plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have
greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use
out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet
only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed
and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane
shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--
grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no
soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and
[496] all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting
of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks
[493] reach out from the mill to loading points on the six planta-
tions, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the
[311] railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two
thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is
used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accord-
ance with a rotation system.

000 Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

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[443] the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila," (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

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[476] The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

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[313] The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells, and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.
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[492] This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

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In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangó, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA PEDÚNCAVO

[Town Life]

were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rarely requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are employed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season, the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the factory. However, the few people in town who have mules occasionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class A Families]

All these dishes are served with rice, potatoes, farina, and cooked vegetable salads. Then fruits are served, followed by a series of desserts including puddings, ice cream, and cakes. The meal is concluded with a demitasse (cafèzinho). Lunch is usually served at midday, and afterwards the guests generally break into small groups, talk, sleep, play cards, or stroll about the garden. In midafternoon a small merenda (snack) is served for those who want it, consisting of cake and demitasse, and in the evening ceia (supper) is served, including cold cuts, salads, and dessert. After this the group may go en masse to the movies, either at the Petroleum Camp or in the town of Vila Recôncavo. Or, if in gay spirits, they may spend the evening dancing in the living room to popular records. People go to these almoços by horseback, jeep, truck, or sometimes, in a spirit of fun, by oxcart. Hospitality has for hundreds of years been the tradition of the rural landowners, who envelop guests with an overabundance of everything. One planter always has the dining-room table set for at least ten people, although only he and his wife live in the house. Others have the reputation of always providing a good meal for anyone who passes at mealtime.

The decreasing size of families, the shift in individual employment from agriculture to the professions, and this century's change to large-scale industrial holdings for the production of sugar have caused some differences in land tenure and, hence, inheritance. The Recôncavo is not an area in which land title was ever vague or lost as was often the case in the sertão. Land was always scarce here, for the desirable massapê soils are limited in extent. The plantations of today for the most part fall into one of two categories: those which have been in the hands of one family for a century or more, and those which were bought after the abolition of slavery by newcomers to the Recôncavo or by those who already had plantations and at a time of falling value bought new ones from the creditors who had taken them over from their former owners for debt. In both cases title passed free and clear. The common form of inheritance is for one half of the estate to go to the widow and the other half to be divided among other heirs.

A century ago, it was common for plantation masters to have extensive holdings, not only in the Recôncavo, but also in other parts of the state, as well as houses and even commercial buildings in the city of Salvador. In addition to this,

change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabitants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past 250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names, but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

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The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past, the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use. A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was frequently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the appearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear. Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar, with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*, were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* consisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power, and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros provided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported *usinas*, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations. The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing production. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of *usinas* bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to *usineiros* continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both mechanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hierarchy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo*;[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9]-like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba*;[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Histórias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).